

Message Text

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TO USDEL SECRETARY PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 118851 TOSEC 010170

FOLLOWING REPEAT USUN 1660 SECSTATE MAY 19

QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L USUN 1660

FOR UNDER SECRETARIES SISCO AND ROBINSON AND ASSISTANT
SECRETARY BUFFUM FROM RICHARD GARDNER

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: AORG, ECOSOC, UN

SUBJ: UN COMMITTEE OF EXPERTS REPORT

1. THE HIGH LEVEL GROUP OF EXPERTS APPOINTED BY SECRETARY
GENERAL WALDHEIM TO PROPOSE STRUCTURAL CHANGES IN THE
UNITED NATIONS ECONOMIC SYSTEM HAS COMPLETED ITS WORK
WITH A UNANIMOUS REPORT SIGNED BY ALL 25 MEMBERS. THE
REPORT WILL BE SUBMITTED FORMALLY TO SECRETARY GENERAL
WALDHEIM AT 4:00 PM ON MAY 20 AND WILL BE RELEASED IN A
PRESS CONFERENCE WHICH I SHALL BE CHAIRING AS RAPPORTEUR
OF THE COMMITTEE IN THE ABSENCE OF THE CHAIRMAN AT NOON
ON MAY 21. (THE NEW YORK TIMES HAS BEEN GIVEN AN ADVANCE
TEXT OF THE REPORT AND IS PLANNING A MAJOR STORY FOR MAY
21.)

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2. THE REPORT PROPOSES THE FOLLOWING SWEEPING REFORMS
IN THE ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES OF THE UNITED NATIONS WHICH
ACCOUNT FOR 85 PERCENT OF THE ORGANIZATION'S BUDGET:

1. THE CREATION OF A DIRECTOR GENERAL FOR DEVELOPMENT AND INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION, A POST SECOND IN RANK ONLY TO THAT OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL HIMSELF, TO PROVIDE LEADERSHIP TO THE CENTRAL SECRETARIAT AND THE ENTIRE UNITED NATIONS ECONOMIC SYSTEM. THE DIRECTOR GENERAL WOULD BE A NATIONAL OF A DEVELOPING COUNTRY SO LONG AS THE SECRETARY GENERAL WAS A NATIONAL FROM A DEVELOPED COUNTRY.

2. THE CONSOLIDATION OF ALL SPECIAL PURPOSE UN FUNDS FOR PREINVESTMENT ACTIVITY (EXCEPT FOR UNICEF) INTO A SINGLE UN DEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY, HEADED BY AN ADMINISTRATOR WHO WOULD BE ONE OF TWO DEPUTIES TO THE DIRECTOR GENERAL. THE SEPARATE IDENTITY OF THE FUNDS WOULD BE MAINTAINED TO ALLOW DONORS TO CONTINUE EARMARKING FOR SPECIAL PURPOSES LIKE POPULATION, ENVIRONMENT, NARCOTICS, ETC. THE ADMINISTRATOR OF THE UNDA WOULD BE A NATIONAL FROM A DEVELOPED COUNTRY. HE WOULD BE RESPONSIBLE TO AN OPERATIONS BOARD OF BETWEEN 18 AND 27 MEMBERS, EQUITABLY BALANCED BETWEEN NET DONORS AND NET RECIPIENT COUNTRIES. THE OPERATIONS BOARD WOULD REPORT TO ECOSOC WHICH WOULD CONDUCT A GENERAL POLICY REVIEW OF UNDA ACTIVITIES ONCE A YEAR.

3. THE DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS WOULD BE REORGANIZED UNDER A SECOND DEPUTY TO THE DIRECTOR GENERAL, KNOWN AS THE DEPUTY DIRECTOR GENERAL FOR POLICIES AND RESEARCH, SO THAT IT COULD DO HIGH-LEVEL RESEARCH, POLICY PLANNING, AND ANALYSIS FOR ECOSOC AND THE ENTIRE UNITED NATIONS SYSTEM. TO MAKE THIS POSSIBLE, A SMALL JOINT RESEARCH, PLANNING AND PROGRAMMING STAFF WOULD BE ESTABLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTOR GENERAL, COMPOSED OF OUTSTANDING PROFESSIONALS SECONDED FROM VARIOUS ORGANIZATIONS OF THE UNITED NATIONS SYSTEM AND FROM OUTSIDE. ESA WOULD BE IMMEDIATELY DIVESTED OF ITS OPERATIONAL RESPONSIBILITIES BY TRANSFERRING THE OFFICE OF TECHNICAL COOPERATION TO THE UNDA. THE DEPUTY DIRECTOR
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GENERAL FOR POLICIES AND RESEARCH WOULD BE A NATIONAL FROM A DEVELOPING COUNTRY.

4. AN ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON ECONOMIC COOPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT WOULD BE ESTABLISHED, CHAIRED BY THE DIRECTOR GENERAL AND COMPOSED OF THE HEADS OF THE MAJOR SPECIALIZED AGENCIES AND THE REGIONAL ECONOMIC COMMISSIONS, TO PROVIDE AN INTEGRATED SYSTEM-WIDE APPROACH TO ECONOMIC PROBLEMS. THE ACC WOULD CONTINUE FOR TRADITIONAL CO-ORDINATION FUNCTIONS.

5. ECOSOC WOULD BE COMPLETELY OVERHAULED TO PERMIT IT TO EXERCISE ITS CHARTER MANDATE FOR PROVIDING CENTRAL POLICY GUIDANCE ON ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS. MOST OF ECOSOC'S COMMISSIONS AND OTHER SUBORDINATE BODIES WOULD BE ABOLISHED AND ECOSOC WOULD ASSUME DIRECT RESPONSIBILITY FOR THESE SPECIALIZED SUBJECTS, THUS AVOIDING THE UNNECESSARY DUPLICATION OF DEBATE AT TWO INTERGOVERNMENTAL LEVELS. ECOSOC WOULD ADOPT A BIENNIAL CALENDAR, BEGINNING IN JANUARY OF THE FIRST YEAR WITH AN ORGANIZATIONAL SESSION AND PROCEEDING TO SPECIALIZE SESSIONS ON POPULATION, NATURAL RESOURCES, SOCIAL PROBLEMS, ENVIRONMENT, ETC., WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF APPROPRIATE DECISION-MAKERS FROM CAPITALS. ECOSOC'S CALENDAR WOULD ALSO INCLUDE AN ANNUAL ONE WEEK MINISTERIAL SESSION, POSSIBLY AT THE END OF JUNE, FOCUSING ON CURRENT WORLD ECONOMIC QUESTIONS, WHICH WOULD SUBMIT A POLICY STATEMENT TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY FOR ITS CONSIDERATION. ECOSOC WOULD HOLD EACH JULY TWO TWO-WEEK SESSIONS DEVOTED (A) TO A REVIEW, IN ALTERNATE YEARS, OF THE PROGRAM BUDGET AND MEDIUM TERM PLANS, RESPECTIVELY, OF THE ENTIRE UNITED NATIONS SYSTEM, AND (B) TO A GENERAL REVIEW OF UNDA ACTIVITIES.

6. THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION WOULD BE MAINTAINED, BUT CONSIDERATION WOULD ALSO BE GIVEN TO THE ALTERNATIVE OF A CHARTER AMENDMENT TRANSFORMING THE TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL INTO A HUMAN RIGHTS COUNCIL, THUS RAISING HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES TO A HIGHER LEVEL COMPARABLE TO THAT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND ECOSOC.

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7. THE SECOND COMMITTEE OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY WOULD BE RENAMED THE COMMITTEE ON DEVELOPMENT AND INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION, AND CERTAIN SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT ITEMS NOW IN THE THIRD COMMITTEE WOULD BE TRANSFERRED TO IT. THE THIRD COMMITTEE WOULD BE RENAMED THE COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL PROBLEMS, HUMAN RIGHTS AND HUMANITARIAN ACTIVITIES. THE SECOND COMMITTEE AGENDA WOULD BE ORGANIZED MORE REALISTICALLY AROUND MEANINGFUL CLUSTERS OF ISSUES AND ECOSOC WOULD BE GIVEN A NEW ROLE IN PREPARING SECOND COMMITTEE WORK. IN PLACE OF THE INCREASING RESORT TO AD HOC WORLD CONFERENCES, SOME WITH FIXED PERIODICITY, THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY WOULD, AFTER CAREFUL PREPARATION, HOLD SPECIAL SESSIONS ITSELF.

8. UNCTAD, INCLUDING ITS CONFERENCE, TRADE BOARD, SECRETARIAT AND OTHER ORGANS, WOULD BE GRADUALLY ELIMINATED, WITH ITS NON-TRADE FUNCTIONS INCORPORATED INTO THE NEW CENTRAL ORGANS OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND ITS TRADE FUNCTIONS EVOLVING INTO SOME NEW KIND OF TRADE INSTITUTION.

9. THE GOVERNING COUNCIL OF UNEP WOULD BE ABOLISHED, WITH ITS POLICY FUNCTIONS ASSUMED DIRECTLY BY ECOSOC AND ITS ROLE IN ADMINISTERING THE ENVIRONMENT FUND ASSUMED BY THE NEW OPERATIONS BOARD OF THE UNDA.

10. IN A REVOLUTIONARY DEPARTURE FROM UN TRADITION, A NEW SYSTEM OF CONSULTATIVE PROCEDURES WOULD BE ESTABLISHED, EMPHASIZING THE SEARCH FOR AGREED SOLUTIONS RATHER THAN VOTING BY AUTOMATIC MAJORITIES. UNDER THESE PROCEDURES, ECOSOC WOULD ESTABLISH SMALL NEGOTIATING GROUPS ON PARTICULAR ISSUES UNDER A FULL-TIME PROFESSIONAL CHAIRMAN (E.G., A JEREMY MORSE OR AN ERIC WYNDHAM-WHITE) TO WORK FOR ONE TO TWO YEARS IN AN ATTEMPT TO FIND AGREEMENT. THE NEGOTIATING GROUPS WOULD CONSIST OF COUNTRIES PRINCIPALLY INTERESTED IN THE SUBJECT MATTER AND BROADLY REPRESENTATIVE OF UNITED NATIONS MEMBERSHIP. MOST IMPORTANT, THEY WOULD OPERATE ON THE BASIS OF UNANIMITY. UPON SUCCESSFUL COMPLETION OF THEIR WORK, THEIR AGREED SOLUTIONS COULD THEN BE VOTED BY ECOSOC AND THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY. WHILE REMAINING LEGALLY FREE TO VOTE ON ISSUES UNDER CONSIDERATION IN NEGOTIATING
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GROUPS, THE GA AND ECOSOC WOULD EXERCISE RESTRAINT IN THE LIGHT OF THE PROGRESS BEING MADE IN THESE GROUPS.

11. THE UNITED NATIONS AGENCIES WOULD MOVE TOWARD A UNIFIED PERSONNEL SYSTEM, INCLUDING A COMMON SYSTEM OF SALARIES, GRADING, CONDITIONS OF SERVICE AND RECRUITMENT, WITH ADDITIONAL POWERS TO THE INTERNATIONAL CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION.

12. MEMBER STATES AND THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR MANAGING THE INTERNATIONAL CIVIL SERVICE WOULD REDEDICATE THEMSELVES TO CHARTER REQUIREMENTS OF EFFICIENCY, COMPETENCE AND INTEGRITY. SPECIFIED REFORMS IN PERSONNEL RECRUITMENT, TRAINING AND PROMOTION WOULD BE ADOPTED IN PURSUIT OF THIS END.

13. MAJOR REFORMS WOULD BE INTRODUCED AT THE INTERAGENCY, INTERGOVERNMENTAL AND SECRETARIAT LEVELS TOWARD MORE RATIONAL SYSTEM-WIDE PROGRAMMING AND BUDGETING, INCLUDING STRENGTHENING OF THE COMMITTEE FOR PROGRAM AND COORDINATION AND STEPS BY THE UNITED NATIONS AND SPECIALIZED AGENCIES TO SYNCHRONIZE BUDGET CYCLES, EXCHANGE INFORMATION, AND ADOPT COMPARABLE PROGRAM-BUDGET PRESENTATIONS.

14. A SMALL BODY OF INDEPENDENT EXPERTS WOULD BE CREATED, FUNCTIONING ON A FULL-TIME BASIS, TO EVALUATE

THE IMPLEMENTATION OF UN PROGRAMS AND PROJECTS.

15. THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES WOULD BE GRADUALLY REDIRECTED TOWARD THEIR ORIGINAL RESEARCH AND STANDARD-SETTING FUNCTIONS, AND UNDA WOULD BE ENCOURAGED TO CHOOSE ALTERNATIVE INSTRUMENTS FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF PROJECTS, INCLUDING UNIVERSITIES, PRIVATE CONTRACTORS AND REGIONAL COMMISSIONS.

16. IN A SEPARATE CHAPTER ON INSTITUTIONAL ISSUES IN PARTICULAR SECTORS, THE REPORT IDENTIFIES A LARGE NUMBER OF ISSUES WHICH WILL REQUIRE CONSIDERATION IN APPROPRIATE FORUMS. THE REPORT HERE CONFINES ITSELF TO THE FOLLOWING SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS:

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(A) GATT AND THE UN SHOULD ENTER INTO A MUTUALLY SATISFACTORY AGREEMENT PROVIDING FOR A FORMAL RELATIONSHIP INCLUDING EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION AND CLOSER ADMINISTRATIVE COLLABORATION,

(B) AS A LONG-TERM OBJECTIVE, THERE SHOULD BE AN EVOLUTION TOWARD THE CREATION OF AN INTERNATIONAL TRADE ORGANIZATION TO DEAL WITH TRADE ISSUES IN A COMPREHENSIVE MANNER. (RECOMMENDATIONS (A) AND (B) ARE QUALIFIED BY THE STATEMENT THAT NO STRUCTURAL CHANGE IN THE FIELD OF TRADE SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO INTERFERE WITH THE MULTILATERAL TRADE NEGOTIATIONS),

(C) THE DISTRIBUTION OF VOTING RIGHTS UNDER THE WEIGHTED VOTING SYSTEM IN THE IMF AND IBRD SHOULD BE REVISED TO REFLECT THE NEW BALANCE OF ECONOMIC POWER AND THE LEGITIMATE INTEREST OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES IN A GREATER VOICE IN THE OPERATIONS OF THESE INSTITUTIONS,

(D) THE PROPOSED "THIRD WINDOW" IN THE WORLD BANK SHOULD BE ESTABLISHED.

17. THE PROPOSALS FOR RESTRUCTURING WOULD BE IMPLEMENTED IN STAGES OVER A FIVE-YEAR PERIOD TO ASSURE AT EVERY STAGE THAT THE INTERESTS OF ALL COUNTRIES ARE BEING SERVED. A COMMITTEE ON THE STRUCTURES OF THE UNITED NATIONS SYSTEM WOULD BE ESTABLISHED TO FOLLOW UP ON THE RESTRUCTURING PROPOSALS AND PROVIDE ADVISORY OPINIONS ON OTHER INSTITUTIONAL PROPOSALS TO INSURE THEIR COMPATIBILITY WITH THE AGREED DESIGN. TWO COMPLEX "INSURANCE POLICIES" ARE INCLUDED IN THE REPORT TO REASSURE DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, RESPECTIVELY, THAT THEIR INTERESTS WILL NOT BE SACRIFICED IN IMPLEMENTING THE ABOVE PROPOSALS CONCERNING THE UNDA AND UNCTAD.

18. THE DIRECTOR GENERAL FOR DEVELOPMENT AND

INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION WOULD BE ELECTED BY THE GA UPON NOMINATION OF SECRETARY GENERAL FOR A FIVE-YEAR TERM AT THE SAME TIME AS THE SECRETARY GENERAL WAS ELECTED FOR HIS FIVE-YEAR TERM IN THE FALL OF 1976. HOWEVER, AN INTERIM APPOINTMENT COULD BE MADE FOR THE
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DIRECTOR GENERAL'S POST BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY IN 1975, A POSSIBILITY TO WHICH GREAT IMPORTANCE IS ATTACHED BY MEMBERS OF OUR GROUP FROM DEVELOPING COUNTRIES.

THE LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL TO THE SECRETARY GENERAL FROM THE GROUP OF EXPERTS STATES THAT THE EXPERTS HAVE SIGNED THE REPORT IN THEIR INDIVIDUAL CAPACITIES AND THAT THEIR SIGNATURES DO NOT COMMIT THE GOVERNMENTS OF THEIR RESPECTIVE COUNTRIES. AT THE SAME TIME, THE LETTER STATES THAT THE EXPERTS HAVE UNANIMOUSLY APPROVED THE REPORT AND ITS RECOMMENDATIONS, EVEN THOUGH NOT NECESSARILY ENDORSING ALL THE REASONING AND THE POINTS OF VIEWS EXPRESSED.

TEXT OF REPORT WILL BE POUCHED TO DEPARTMENT MAY 20. IF DESIRED, I CAN BE IN WASHINGTON ON THE MORNING OF MAY 23 FOR BRIEFINGS ON THE REPORT WITH IO,EB, AID, AND OTHER INTERESTED PARTIES.

THE REPORT IS THE CULMINATION OF AN EXTRAORDINARY EFFORT BY THE GROUP OF EXPERTS. IT HAS INVOLVED EIGHT WEEKS OF FULL-TIME WORK BY MYSELF AS RAPPOREUR, THE LAST FOUR WEEKS INVOLVING LATE NIGHT AND AND WEEKEND SESSIONS.

IN EXAMINING THE REPORT, I HOPE THE DEPARTMENT WILL BEAR IN MIND THAT SOME COMPROMISES WERE NECESSARY TO SATISFY A TANZANIAN CHAIRMAN, AND AMERICAN RAPPOREUR, AND A WORKING GROUP WHICH INCLUDED A RUSSIAN, A YUGOSLAV, AND INDIAN, A NIGERIAN, AND OTHER MEMBERS FROM SRI LANKA, ARGENTINA, DENMARK AND GERMANY. I BELIEVE THE RECOMMENDATIONS ARE OVERWHELMINGLY IN ACCORD WITH UNITED STATES INTERESTS AND WILL RESULT IN A GREATLY STRENGTHENED UNITED NATIONS SYSTEM.

QUITE APART FROM ITS STRUCTURAL RECOMMENDATIONS, THE REPORT HAS POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE BY DEMONSTRATING THAT (A) THE UNITED NATIONS, DESPIT ALL ITS DIFFICULTIES, STILL

HAS THE CAPACITY FOR SELF-CRITICISM AND SELF-RENEWAL, AND (B) THE DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, NOTWITHSTANDING
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THEIR MANY DIFFERENCES, CAN UNITE ON INSTITUTIONAL PROPOSALS
TO ASSIST IN THE SEARCH FOR AGREED SOLUTIONS TO THE PROBLEMS
OF ECONOMIC INTERDEPENDENCE.

BENNETT UNQUOTE INGERSOLL

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